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Outline: Events in Germany and their implications

The analysis of East German uprisings 1.

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while not final, is valuable.

It is based on information available as of 2 July

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East Home uprising began spontaneously on 16 June II.

- It was launched on a small scale by working class
 - Regime winked at early demonstration
- B. Uprising grew as other segments of population joined vorkers

Early intervention by E. German police was ineffective

- Beviets interceded after quickly deciding that situation was getting out of hand
 - This indicated distrust of effectiveness of People's Police

Potentially revolutionary situation developed, based on:

Widespread hatred of regime and its organs

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- B. Two percent increase in production norms actually only the last straw
- C. Drastically reduced standard of living
 - 1. Food shortage
 - 2. Chronic lack of consumer goods
- D. Conciliatory course announced by SED Polithuro on 9 June afforded respite to get uprising under way
 - 1. Suggested reprisals sould not be too severe
- E. SED leadership appeared confused.
- V. Large scale uprisings were doubtless spontaneous; local demonstrations showed signs of organization
 - A. Local indications suggested good mass discipline plus ad boc experienced leadership
 - B. Local demonstrations followed similar pattern
 - 1. Spreading of news of East Berlin strike
 - 2. Declaration of workers' solidarity
 - 3. Strikes
 - 4. Marches against SED strongholds

- C. Shop stewards and revolutionary tradition of German trade union government played vital role in leadership
 - 1. "Mes" Soviet methods had affrented pride of German worker
- VI. East German developments demonstrate possibility of revolt from below even in communist police state
 - A. Kremlin must forestall similar development in Satellites
 - B. Soviet propaganda consequently alleges riots engineered from outside
 - C. "Uprising from below" theme useful in psychological warfare
 - 1. SED authority based on Soviet bayonets
 - 2. 3ED as instrument for repressing workers
 - 3. Seviet troops, "protectors of workers," used against them
 - 4. Communism, repressing revolution, is really reactionary

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- VII. Riote have created problems of great magnitude for the usar
 - A. Kremlin must now question value of East Germany as a base for an offensive against Western Europe
 - Lines of communication could not be protected
 by Germans in event of major war
 - B. New economic program of SED could terminate in reduction of Seviet control over East Zone populace
 - C. Demonstrated hostility of East Germans reduces

 usefulness of East Germany as a base for subverting

 Vest Germany
 - 1. Appeal of communism to West Gormans has vanished
 - D. Potency of unity campaign has diminished
 - I. The SED cannot now muster mass popular support
 - 1. Eventually may be reduced to cadre organization
 - 2. Reports of coming ascendancy of bourgeois parties at this stage are, however, wishful and presature.

- a) They may, nevertheless, be brought more to the fore
- 3. Attempts to broaden the popular base of the SEO are likely
- F. Ulbricht's future position is uncertain
 - 1. It appears, however, that his continued influence is assured
- VIII. The Kremlin, it would seem must now:
 - A. Maintain the SED in power; there is no other logical choice
 - 1. No major change expected in SED conciliatory tactics
 - B. Hake every effort to restore order before any fourpower conference is proposed
 - C. Maintain covert aucleus of communiat control within
 East German bourgoois parties
 - 1. This would be done in any case, but would prepare

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for remote contingency of settlement on Western

torns

- 2. Long range prospects for success of this maneuver are not good
- IX. This analysis covers immediate German situation; broader implications exist
 - A. Can am aliem, and hostile, people be held by force alone?
 - B. How far can concessions go, as an alternative, without sacrifice of control? This is the dilemma
- X. The current situation in the Eastern European Satellites
 - A. Press reports of large scale demonstrations in Poland are desied by US officials in Warsaw.

1.	, <u> </u>	
	no evidenc	e of

demonstrations or heightened security

B. Reports of strikes and demonstrations in other Satellites are unconfirmed and probably untrue

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- C. The Hungarian, Albania, and Humanian regimes announced concessions following the East German riots
 - Timing may have been influenced by German events;
 no other apparent connection
 - 2. Hungarian government and party reorganization in line with Kremlin's new conciliatory policy
- D. Reorganization of Eungarian regime apparently ends Rakosi's one-man rule
 - 1. Resembles reorganization in USSR and Csechoslovakia
 - 2. Rakosi retains principal Polithuro and
 Secretariat posts, but his job as Secretary General
 has been abolished, and he has dropped from the
 government
 - 3. Long-time communist Imre Nagy promoted to premership
 - 4. Former number-two man Erno Gero remains on

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Polithuro and gets additional duties as first

Deputy Presier and Minister of Interior

- 5. New regime promises:
 - a) Slowdows in industrialization and collectivisation
 - b) Abolition of internment camps
 - c) Rise is living standards
- E. Albania on 22 June cancelled peasants' agricultural debts for 1949-1952
- F. Rumania has relaxed grain collection program and furnished additional foodstuffs to the people
- G. The Czech Government on 6 July repealed a week-old degree specifying stringest measures to combat absentecism
- H. These developments may presage a softer policy throughest the Orbit.